582 rule. There is also a taboo on father's sister's daughter marriage.

(Lalong kampong is not far to the northeast from Weol.)

582 583 There may be a system here, but they are sure that it is not a mere three move thing like what we found in Larantuka. In fact, I asked about this, and they said that it was impossible (that is, for example, Weol women to Tjepang, Tjepang women to Lalong, and Lalong women back to Weol; this is impossible, i.e. the last move). In fact, there does seem to be a system, as he said even four moves is not possible, but five moves may be. Also, when I described the Larantuka figuring on how to get around the bride price by arranging a series of marriages, he said this type of talk is done here but that the price must always be delivered even though the books might balance in the long run. In Larantuka they can wait, but here they must make actual payment (though theoretically the same horses and buffaloes might some day come back to the original giver).

583 It is true that the bride price must be in horses, buffaloes, and money. The return gift is in women's ware, that is, pigs, cloth, and ornaments. In value, the women's ware return gifts are far less than the former. Coolhaas[1] [114] was wrong to assume that perhaps fowls were included in the return gift.

562 181 The assistant saw the point of a male-female dualism in the whole society, but he is not sure that it is entirely so. He agreed that it is a good hunch.

231 585 At the marriage feast they kill animals. Usually about ten pigs are killed and the normal custom does not include other animals.

114 585 565 The wedding rites described by Coolhaas (page 351)[1] are all right, but the amounts quoted are for the upper classes. The lowers have

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

114 Wa
[585] exactly the same rites and all moves are the
[565] same, but each payment is smaller. Coolhaas'
[784] word for tjek'i (totem taboo) is an alternate
[614] ireng, but not pireng as he says (page 354).[1]
[286] In addition to the technical totem taboos given by Coolhaas, the Ruteng clan may not weave.

103 614 I note on the map that place names recur often all over Manggarai, especially not far away. These are clan names, which are given to kampongs founded by split offs from the mother kampong. Thus there are two Sita, etc.

634 578 632 648 186 The mandur said there is criticism of the Radja today because he is not "one hundred per cent Manggarai." He is a Todo, and Todo is of Minangkabau origin. This is fantastic, although somewhat ironic that the Todo are proud of this Minangkabau story while at the same time it may harm them in light of Manggarai nationalism. It is also notable that Mennes[1] says that when the Dutch were trying to select a radja for Manggarai for the first time, they thought of Bima, but saw that Manggarai was not a contented area and that the people there wanted a "real" Manggarai radja. Then the Dutch chose Todo as it was the traditional, prime kraeng of Manggarai. A probable factor here is that under Todo there were thirteen dalu around Ruteng, and they remember having to knuckle under to Todo. Now, with independence, they may see a possible chance of paying off old scores. This pattern may arise all over Indonesia where self-governing setups led to exploitation of lesser princes by greater ones. The dalu may try to raise themselves up to a parity level and remove the lord of Todo whom the Dutch put in after the Bima oppression was lifted.

191 I note that many old men who cannot speak Malay at all seem to understand it. I will ask questions, and they will reply without first going through a translator. However, the reply

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 11a--Analyst]

Wac

581 all it is a matter of proper behavior and secondly one of good work. There are no taboos
[565] on interclass marriages. Note that slave descendants are placed in the system. Above all they do not want a lazy mate. The rank is the same for both sexes: behavior, work, and personal appearance. As the guru said, "How in hell could we have clothes if the wives were not always weaving? We can buy shirts and pants only rarely, as money is dear. Therefore, they must weave sarongs, etc." It is a simple necessity. I said, "Well then, as long as a girl is a good worker and is well behaved, you would like to marry her even if her face is like that of an animal." This literally raised the roof, and all of them laughed, including the flat-faced but attractive daughter. "Oh well," they said, "if she really has a face like a monkey, that's a different thing." They are absolutely adamant, however, that mere prettiness is not enough. If a girl is very attractive, but is bad on other points, no one wants her as a mate. They might like it, but they just can't afford it.

836 Roy said that nearly all women here are virgins at the time of their marriage (except the pairs who had sexual relations before, but these marry anyway). This goes for the men as well as the women. I asked what would happen if a man found that his wife was not a virgin. He said that he wouldn't make a fuss about it, but that the "marriage would probably not be happy." These little indications show me that there must be a lot of fooling around to give him any chance to answer at all.

585 The only marriage ceremonies here are those
177 of the church, and they are of recent origin. There is no native marriage ceremony here. This must be very unusual in Indonesia. There is not even a ceremonial meal.

R

582 has long since been tabooed by the government.
178 Nevertheless, I wonder if there is not a re-
565 luctance to marry a slave descendant. They
684 say that there used to be plenty of slaves
567 here and that they were obtained mainly by war.

583 They say that the Mohammedans have just
184 about given up the bride price here, but that the Christians keep it up firmly. This is another example of the greater conservatism in some ways which the Christians demonstrate.

I wonder also if what a priest says may not be true: that the Catholic church has decided that the bride price is a good idea, as it solidifies the marriage bond, and why drive it out?

585 As for changes in the wedding procedure,
583 Migo gave me first the way a pagan marries today and the way everyone married formerly:

First the intermediaries sound out the girl's parents. If all is O.K., the parents get together and decide on the price. The wedding starts with the boy, with his best man, going to the house of the bride, and there her family kills a pig. The girl and her bridesmaid and the boy and his best man eat the pig or part of it that evening, and then the couple have their first sex relations in the girl's house. The next morning the boy goes home taking what is left of the pig and gives it to his family. That day he returns to the girl's house with his best man, leading a goat. This is presented to the girl's family and they eat it. That evening, the girl's family again kills a pig, and the four eat part of it and then the couple sleep together again. The next morning the boy goes home taking the remains of the pig to his family. He then returns with another goat and gives it to the girl's family. That evening a third pig is killed and the four eat of it and the pair sleep together. The next morning the

R

585 boy takes the remains of this pig to his family
583 and comes back with a goat for the girl's family. Then comes up the fourth night and again the pig is killed and the next morning the boy's party comes with the fourth goat and all of the bride price stuff. Thus, in all, the boy's family has given four goats and the girl's family four pigs.

On this fourth day, the bride price is paid, and also the boy's family must bring a buffalo, which is killed. At this time both families, guests, and all notables of the kampong come to the feast and eat the buffalo. The girl's family provides all the food and drink except for the buffalo. The day of this feast, the girl's family calls all the people to come by beating gongs and drums. If they haven't any, they borrow them. For perhaps a week the pair
[591] sleep in the girl's house. This is until their household outfit (the dowry) is all ready, and then they go to the boy's house, where they will live. They bring also the return gift as well as the outfit, and indeed, the two seem to be parts of the same thing, the tau laguana, or return gift.

585 This rite is still observed by the pagans,
583 but the Catholics do it differently now. First
178 they pay the bride price. Then the priest announces banns for three Sundays. The date is set, and the day before, the two families each have a separate feast for their own guests at their own houses. The boy stays at his and the girl at hers. The two parties do not mix. The next day they all go to church for the wedding, and then, in procession, with music and dancing, they all go to the girl's house. There they have a big feast, provided by the girl's family. They dance, sing, eat, sing pantun, drink and have a good time. For perhaps a week the pair stay at the girl's house. This

R

585 is to get the outfit ready. The outfit is
583 provided by the girl's family. Then they go
178 to the boy's house to settle down. This represents a big change. Elopement was never an established custom here, and it does not exist today. Formerly, marriages were arranged, and the girls and boys simply obeyed. Nowadays, the young are consulted, but there is still plenty of prearranged marriage.

582 Sib exogamy is still favored in the majority,
614 by far. Formerly, this rule was very strong.
621 There are a few cases of endogamy with distant relatives, but not many. Formerly this never took place. Most marriages are inside the kampong. The only frequent exception is marriage with Watu Roga, across the street. There are plenty of marriages with Wanda suku, the main one there. Indeed, with the mother's brother's daughter arrangement, and so many Odja-Wanda marriages, it is just about a regular thing. Of course, however, there are plenty of Wanda people living in Roworeke too.

An extra-district marriage is very rare, except for Watu Roga, which happens to be in Lio, which is even in a different radjadom, although it is just across the street.

582 The average age for men at the time of mar-
178 riage is about twenty-five. Today, for women, the average age is twenty-one. And they insist that in the old days the average ages were much older. They said it was usual for a man to be well over thirty, and many women were thirty-five at the time they got married. The kapitan said that they "aged" much slower than they do today. He said that he didn't even have clothes until he was very old, relatively speaking. I asked about virginity under these conditions, and he said that all women stayed virgins until they were married. If a husband found that his wife was not a virgin today, he would
836

Wa.

527 risk, and one must tread warily and devoutly.
241 Observing all the rites and showing respect for the most important thing of all, food, is the proper thing.

[782] There are also feasts to ask for rain (held at the korke), and against widespread illness (also at the korke), for a new korke, for a new kebang, and for a new "big house."

Note that most of the agricultural rites occur in the fields.

Once in about every nine to ten years they have a great thanksgiving feast, if the crops are good.

[851] A small feast is given when a child is born, but there is no animal sacrifice. If twins are born, however, an animal is cut. Note the gladness displayed at the increase or income of any kind whatsoever, including an additional human being.

●[585] There is no marriage feast at all in the old adat.

The biggest feasts are those held at harvest, for a new korke, and the thanksgiving feast.

[171] Note that the Toradja have the thanksgiving feast too, and I saw the start of it there.

[346] The new korke feast is now given when they have a new church!

346 Note the way that the church links with the
614 old cult. I remember almost the first thing I
177 heard here was from the priest who said that the new church is being partly paid for by selling the tusks of the families whose carelessness caused the fire which burned the old church. He also said in the church, both in the old and the new, there are the signs of the four main suku. They have their place in the church. And I suppose they will cut up animals for the new church too. If so this sort of takes the wind out of the argument against constructing a new korke, namely, that it would cause too much of a waste of animals.

We

536 the rites of the agricultural cycle, etc., are highly dramatic). Weaving is probably the
286 most active art.

There are three kinds of dancing.

The hard work in this area is done from Janu-
221 ary to March. This is the growing season. They
784 work hard and steadily in the gardens and are tired at night and have to sleep early. Also, there is a taboo on making noise during this time. It is the time of "work and quiet." This links with beliefs about rice, corn, etc. souls, which must be handled carefully. But then, in July, August, September comes the big time for feasts, dancing, singing, especially at the time of full moon. Then they have lots of fun. After that the quiet time starts again after a tapering off.

They know just about nothing about foreign
20 sports, etc. My theory is that the lack of movies is the main reason for this. There are also no books, magazines or papers. There is no way of finding out about such things. There
533 is plenty of riddling and song games, like
538 pantun. This is done especially in forms which are sung. The same holds for stories. They are told especially by singing. The stories are sung during the great thanksgiving feasts that come perhaps once every nine or ten years. One story may last a month. Every incident in a past period will be told, with all persons indicated by name, their relationships with other people involved, and everything that happened in every kampong, etc. These are evidently true epics on a small-distance scale. These are "local epics." Such a tale may tell everything that happened over a period of twenty generations. Most tales are told about the ancestors (the sistim again; it permeates everything).

585 I forgot to say that Roy says that marriages
241

Wa

585 come mainly in the "free months" after harvest,
[221] that is, July, August, September. (Note here
796 that the tuno wudjo fasting period comes in,
261 which he said lasts for about six months. It
just jibes with the quiet time.)[1]

721 Head-hunting was done formerly for a feast
346 for a new korke (they can't do it for the new
178 church; too bad!). I have already mentioned
782 how they would give the new posts of a korke
some food if the posts did not fit into the
rafter holes. This showed that they were hungry. Formerly the food given was human heads. They were hung in the korke. (I suspect there was more of this than Roy[2] says, but he is honest, and perhaps this simply was not done during his time.)

[241] I asked about the blood and the heads needed for making the land fertile and the crops plentiful, etc. He was very vague about this, and my guess is that it is not native in this area. Still, I note the tuno wudjo myth. But this may indeed be a Lio importation. Anyway, they know the connection between blood, human sacrifice, and "fat land." There must be a link here.

226 He says there is no cannibalism here. He
727 says Seegeler[3] was wrong to suspect that they ate parts of the human beings killed in human sacrifice. In fact, he says they didn't even have the human sacrifice. But then he hedged a bit when I reminded him how the Keweluk had forbidden the killing of the Padji women. Then he corrected my previous version of this tale and said that when they had these wars, they didn't, as I thought, kill half the defeated at once and bring the other half back to the kampong and there kill them. He said that actually what they did was to kill only one person and bring the head back. Thus, in the Padji case, they killed one woman and brought her head back. It

[1] [i.e., January-June; see category 116, p. 276, #2 --Analyst]
[2] [the assistant] [3] [a former Controleur --Analyst]

We

533 797 [562] school[1] is overcrowded, and it is the only place where girls can rise above the lowest level in Manggarai. There were plenty of sisters around. The whole thing shows the good organization of the Catholics here.

[124] I used the last two days of work here to get through the rest of the schedule.

585 For weddings, the Christians go to church for a service as well as going through the old rites.

583 Formerly the bride price was not payable in money, but today it is, in part. The bride price (padja) includes buffaloes, horses, and formerly copper or brass (?) boxes. There are no more of these last objects, and money has been substituted for them. Also, cattle are now used, but were not included formerly.

The return gift (vida) includes cloth, bracelets, ear ornaments, etc. Also included are small elephant teeth (used as pendants on bracelets). They are about two inches long. The bride price goes to the girl's family, and the return gift to the boy's family. Formerly the bride price was not very high. Today it is higher. An average bride price includes about five animals.

Both Catholics and pagans still pay the bride [591] price and make the return gift. If a bride [611] price is not paid, the couple must live matrilocally until it is paid. However, the children are always patrilineally descended.

582 614 The distances of mate selection are about the same as they were fifty years ago. There is a bit more marriage within the va'u, which was taboo before. However, the panga remain exogamous.

476 602 614 If the relatives-in-law live too far off, there is no real, actual mutual aid. If they are near, mutual aid is carried out between three groups: one's own va'u ana rona, and ana vina. The help comes especially in aiding a help-mate

[1] [i.e., at Veol.—Analyst]

We

476 602 614 to obtain the bride price, but also in such cases as the building of a new big house. The va'u helps with the costs of a wedding feast. [585] The rona get animals for their women, and the vina give animals for theirs. The return gifts go in the opposite direction: the rona give the gifts and the vina receive them.

I get the impression that there is more to it than just this simple roundabout exchange. Thus, a family has several relations of rona and vina, and the same ones will not always be involved in a given marriage. The ones not directly involved evidently help out, or can be called upon to help in a marriage in which they are not directly involved. But this is not too clear to me. Cornelius[1] says that the whole thing is quite a burden, as when they are called upon they must give this aid. The nearer the groups live, the more they are called upon. If they are far off, this is not too much of a burden.

582 563 There are no marriages here with foreigners, but in other places a few Manggarai women have married Chinese men. These are definitely not liked. They are "lost." They are outside the adat and the magic circle.

582 291 178 At the time of marriage, local males are sixteen (some are fifteen to twenty-one years old. The majority fall within the age groupings sixteen to seventeen. Females, at the time of their marriage, are fourteen to twenty years old. Formerly they married later. The youngest was about nineteen (I think this was for males). He says that this was because they "got clothes" when they were older. The boys did not even wear loincloths until about the age of sixteen. The girls wore only a little cloth from about the age of twelve on. This was because it was so hard to get clothes. They married only two to three years after getting clothes. The rich

[1] [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

We

584 all right with the girl and her parents. If all is all right, the boy and his family go to the girl's house. There they exchange betel ingredients, talk around a lot, and then edge in to the essential business. They never get explicit, however. This is all done in a very circumlocutory manner. Children sitting around never know what they are talking about. Thus they talk about "needing to build a good fence." Thus the price is set. They start by saying that they need so much to build a fence, and the boy's family says so much money, up to fl. 5.00, gradually. As this is added on, the girl's family keeps on saying that they need more and more to make the fence stronger. Thus they say they need "five trees," i.e., five buffaloes or horses. The relation of the money to animals is set. For each horse [435] the value is fl. 2.50, and for each buffalo it is fl. 5.00. The day is set for about a week hence, and it must be a "good" day (evidently they do not use professional soothsayers). Everything is prepared. Thus the family goes home, and the boy stays at the girl's house and works. However, he doesn't sleep with or talk much with the girl.

• 585 On the wedding day the family of the boy (but not his parents) come again, bringing animals and money. All are well dressed, and so is the boy. The bride price (patja) is paid, and then come the rites (umbur). Pigs are killed (provided by the girl's family, one for each horse or buffalo in the bride price), there is eating and there is drinking. The pigs are killed in front of the house, while the pair sit together inside. This goes on for one day and they are thus married. This rite is called numpang or atjar nao vase vunut (the latter means "fence of nao wood, with idjuk rope," i.e., "the fence is secured with rope").

We

●585 Numpang merely means "wedding." The old men say prayers to the ancestors, wish the pair luck, etc. In the prayers they call the empo to come. Then the boy's group gives fl. 25.00 "to clean the bridal chamber." Other small amounts are paid too, ritually up to Fl. 100.00 to fl. 200.00. That night everyone sleeps in the girl's house. In the morning they go home. However, the boy stays for about a week.

Then the pair, mounted on horses, go to the boy's house. The girl's parents, however, do not go along. The family of the girl brings along palm wine and food. Halfway there the boy's relatives begin to join the procession and bring along money. They stop once on the way to eat and drink, and the boy's family pays money, while the girl's family provides food and drink. Whenever they come to a river, the girl's group asks what river it is, and they say that they have never seen it before, etc. The boy's family tells them, and they say, "Oh, is that so. You must give us a bukti." The boy's group pays money. At every river this is done. At every crossroad, the girl's group goes the wrong way, as they "do not know the way." They say they must be given money "to open their eyes." Thus if it is really far off, for example, in Todo, the boy's group has to pay plenty. I think perhaps the halfway meeting is if the group comes from far away, and perhaps if the boy's group is nearby, his family goes all the way. But it still may be halfway, and I seem to remember that van Bekkum[1] said so. Clearly, there is a money penalty on far-off marriages.

Once they have arrived at the boy's kampong, the girl's group act as though they do not know where it is, as if it had never seen the place before or heard of it, and they have to be given bukti. As the party approaches the boy's house,

[1] [Pastor at Ruteng --Analyst]

We

585 all of the men in the kampong come on horses. The bride may not dismount nor touch the earth, but is lifted off on the saddle. At the threshold she steps off the saddle and crushes an egg under her foot. The groom enters too. Songs are sung and a pig is killed as she enters [783] ("to clean her feet" meaning evidently to clean the soil of her home kampong off or to remove bonds therewith). This indeed is the rite that removes her totem taboo and makes her take on her husband's totem. It is called ela penteng pitak, which indeed means to clean off the mud. Thus she leaves the old and takes on the new tjek'i. Thus she has entered her husband's va'u. Then there is a [591] feast and they live patrilocally.

583 591 585 [124] If there is no bride price paid, the boy merely goes and moves in with the girl's family. There is no ceremony, or perhaps it is a little one. This is not regarded as nice (and note he says that he is afraid they might not tell him who in Veol and Ndung did not pay the bride price, as they are sensitive about this. He will send me a letter later about this and also about the percentage of mother's brother's daughter marriages). Only the poor people marry in this fashion.

When the bride price is finally paid, the real wedding ritual occurs as above. It may be ten years later. I made sure of this by laughingly saying that perhaps in such a case when they have the procession from the girl's to the boy's house their children go along too. And they said that that was correct. If the couple are Christian, they have a church wedding one day before the numpang. All the rest of the rite is the same.

864 There is no need for sex instruction, as the children see everything when they are still very young in these crowded houses. They are

527 We
782 Drums, etc. are set up.
231 (5) A new ordinary house. There is a small
[342] feast, and pigs are killed.

[731] (6) If there is an epidemic, a big feast is
[783] held, like the tjutji kampong of Ambon. The
[756] mbako decides when it is needed. It is called kaba erba golo, which means "buffalo (kaba) makes young or renews (erba) the kampong (golo)." Thus the word for young seems to have the sense of making young or cleaning or renewing. There is a buffalo sacrificed, I suppose at the tjompang.

[697] (7) When a man returns from jail. A buffalo is sacrificed.

●[585] (8) A wedding. For such rites only pigs are sacrificed. Buffaloes which are killed at this time are for food only, not for ritual use.

[764] (9) Funerals. If such a rite is for an up-
[565] per, a buffalo is sacrificed; if a funeral is for a lower, only a pig is sacrificed.

(10) Birth. A bigger ceremony is held for
[844] a first child, and all the kampong folk attend. Later children are given smaller rites, and only the family attend. Pigs or fowls are sacrificed. Such ceremonies are held five to ten days after birth. There is no special touching the ground rite. However, at this time the baby's hair is cut and a name is given.

844 This led to a discussion of birth. In each
[756] kampong the mbako are also midwives, i.e., at least some of them. A male mbako may be a midwife, and Cornelius says that some are very clever at this. Evidently all mbako are medicine givers and sorcerers and soothsayers, etc., but not all of them are midwives.

843 There are no food taboos for pregnant women, but there are restrictions. If a pregnant woman goes out at night, she must carry a knife (like Ambon). An expectant father may not make bamboo water holders. Neither parent may work at the graves or go to funerals